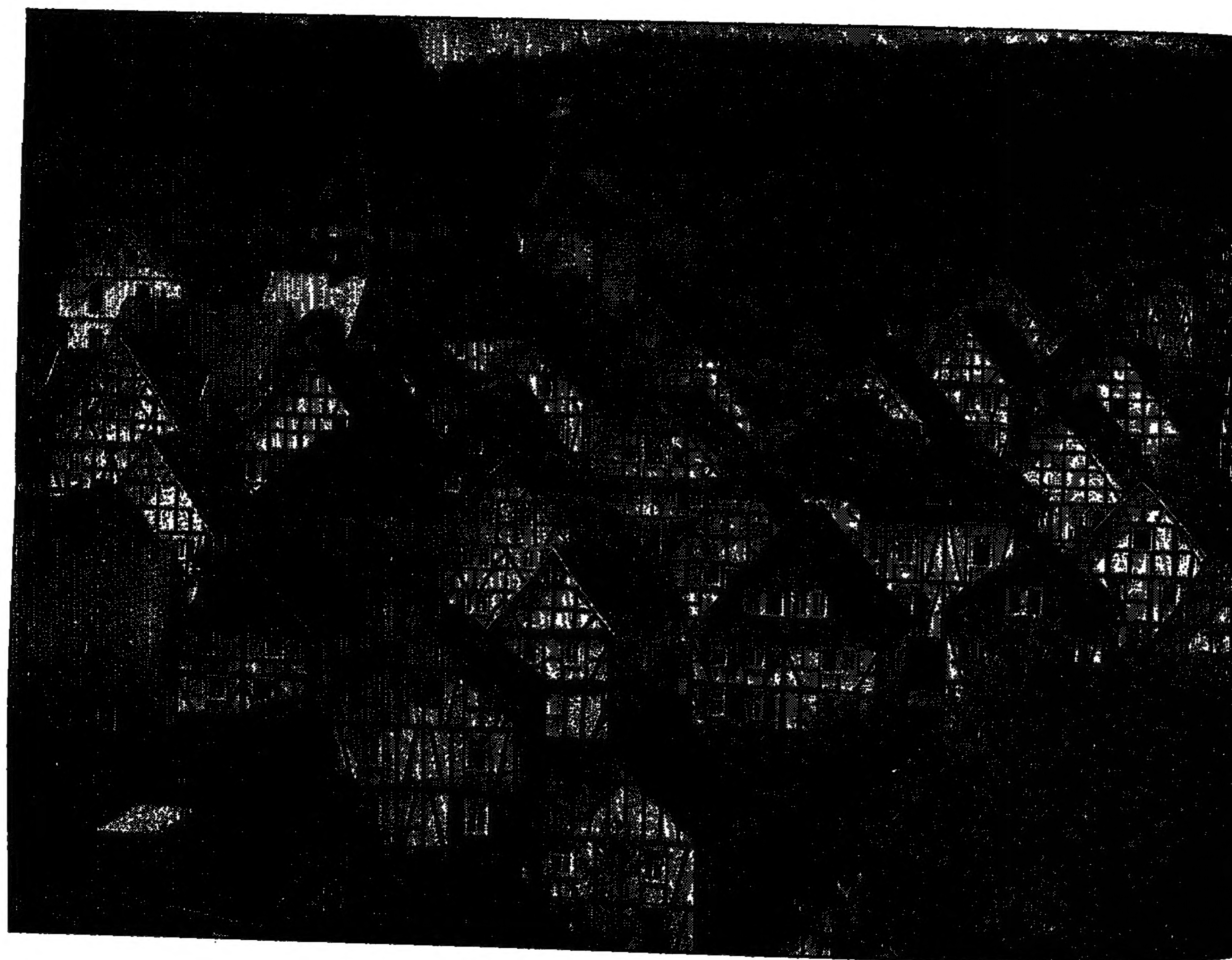


Germany's towns and cities

Let's take Bremen: both city and port where, however, in the Schnoor district, picturesque alleys, once the home of medieval craftsmen, and 500-year-old gabled houses are to be found. Or the small township of Münzenberg in Hesse, with its castle. Or Fritzlar, with half-timbered buildings, alcoves, fountains and lanes dating

from times when people still went on foot or rode in mail-coaches. Great cities, but also fairytale-like towns no larger than a football pitch. Then again, the modern aspect as in West Berlin's Märktches Viertel or Hansa-Viertel, created by famous architects from all over the world. A journey through Germany's towns and

cities is like a study trip, exciting and amusing. Just think of all the restaurants offering special dishes and the many small taverns on nearly every corner!



Freudenberg
Berlin

DZT DEUTSCHE ZENTRALE FÜR TOURISMUS E.V.
Beethovenstrasse 69, D-5000 Frankfurt

The German Tribune

29 November 1981
Year - No. 1014 - By air

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF THE GERMAN PRESS

C 20725 C
ISSN 0016-8858

Kremlin chief comes to see how the land lies

ZEIT

before his 75th birthday Leo-
Breznev paid Bonn his third
visit in a decade. His previous
visits were in 1973 and 1978.

1973 he toured the city in
as a visionary, inviting the
to do business in Siberia.

they had at last accepted the
there were two Germanies he
the prospect of contracts that
generations.

Mr Brezhnev, an older and
man, sought support for his
Westpolitik.

Mid time round Bonn was the
Western capital to host the Soviet
while the Red Army invaded
East.

any respects Mr Brezhnev's Bonn
aimed at public opinion in the
as a whole, at Western govern-
and Western peace movements.

Mr's aging head of state and
leader went to the trouble of tra-
veling at this time of the year.
Is a sign of strength or weakness
for the Soviet Union's part?

Why was Bonn given the honour
of his presence? Was it its specific
position, firmly anchored, in the West? Or
was it Moscow, hoping Bonn might part
company with the West?

Federal Republic of Germany is
land where new medium-range
missiles are, by the terms of the De-
cember 1979 Nato resolution, to be sta-
tioned if negotiations fail.

There has also been manoeuvring into
position by contradictory
policies from the Reagan administra-

more often the abstruse and see-
ingless pronouncements of
the House, the State Department
the Pentagon worry and upset Wes-
Europe, the more often America's
partners in Brussels will look to
see how it assesses the situa-

in the military debate between
superpowers Bonn has assumed an
active role as a result of the long
absence of Washington from world

Soviet Union is merely being true
to its word by double dealing with a
superpower that has come to be the major
rival of both superpowers.

Kremlin would like Bonn both to
company with the United States
and to forge Soviet links with Amer-
ica. It is such a self-evident contradic-

tion that it leaves clear and obvious lea-
way for responsible activity, yet for
months opinion-makers in this country
have stirred up artificial hysteria.

Some commentators even feel calls
for peace and security jeopardise the
Western alliance.

The Cold War, *Frankfurter Allge-
meine Zeitung* sadly recalled, had at
least enabled people "to understand
what was being said and to think and
act accordingly."

Others feel Mr Brezhnev is alone in
worrying about peace being in danger
and, like Rudolf Augstein, the proprietor
of *Der Spiegel*, the Hamburg news
weekly, would like to see the West make
unilateral concessions as a token of good
will.

Bonn has benefited more than most
from the policy of detente, so much so
that it can no longer afford to make fur-
ther unilateral concessions.

A mere 13 years ago Bonn's non-ac-
ceptance of the GDR blocked talks with
Moscow and threatened to isolate the
Federal Republic in a West that was oth-
erwise predisposed towards detente.

Only a few years later none other
than Helmut Schmidt warned the
United States not to place inordinately
naive hopes in detente.

It was at the Munich conference on
military affairs in 1971. As Defence
Minister in Bonn he was critical of cuts
in US defence spending and the aboli-
tion of conscription.

Bonn's role increased in importance
as the Americans were steadily more
disappointed and the Russians proved
steadily more devious.

Moscow ruthlessly exploited each and
every weakness on Washington's part
but was caught, in the process, in a di-
lemma between regional and global
interests.

Yet the 1970 Moscow treaty with
Bonn proved more than equal to the
strain to which it was subjected, and
Berlin did not reappear among the
world's hot spots.

Bonn's moderating influence on in-
ternational affairs peaked in 1980, when
Helmut Schmidt's visit to Moscow got
the superpowers back on the speaking
terms.

Nato's deploy-and-negotiate resolu-
tion, previously an obstacle to talks, pro-
vided the first and so far only leverage
for negotiations. So far Bonn and its
ties with Moscow
the comment made
by Mr Allen, Presi-
dent Reagan's na-
tional security advi-
ser, cannot be en-
dorsed. Detente, he
said, had been a
complete failure. In
the European view
such funeral dirges
merely bear out
what William Pfaff
wrote in the *Herald
Tribune*. Nato to-
day, he wrote, is
Continued on page 2



A lot to talk about ... Brezhnev and Schmidt in Bonn.
(Photo: Poly-Press)

Reagan deal strengthens Schmidt's hand

Nothing would be a greater mistake
than to imagine that President Re-
agan's disarmament proposals to the
Russians might change the world over-
night. There is certainly no way in which
they will alleviate European nuclear an-
xiety.

Yet the President's proposals, and his
declaration of readiness to reduce to zero
if possible the number of medium-range
missiles based by both sides in Europe,
mark a new quality in the security and
peace debate.

In the wake of a number of confusing
comments by high-ranking US officials,
including Mr Reagan himself, about a
nuclear warning shot or a limited nu-
clear strike an entirely different President
Reagan has emerged.

He has called on world opinion to
witness his commitment to disarmament
as his policy aim, and in so doing he
has done more than just clarify matters.

It is now up to Mr Brezhnev to say
what he really wants.
It is no surprise that Moscow has cho-
sen to dismiss the US offer with alacrity
as a mere propaganda trick and to in-
sist that the Americans want to es-
tablish nuclear supremacy by the back
door, as it were.

THE ENVIRONMENT
Trying to make the inner
city come to life again
Page 10

WORLD AFFAIRS
Nuclear war: can it
be limited?
Page 12

HERITAGE
Historians 'wrong' about
doom of the Nibelungs
Page 14

THE WELFARE STATE
Blamark gets ball rolling
and steals march on
socialists
Page 16

SOCIETY
Therapy instead of jail
cells of new drug law
Page 18

This is Kremlin strategy of the kind
with which we are all familiar, but it
would seem reasonable to assume that
Mr Brezhnev flew to Bonn with mixed
feelings as a result.

He already knew what President Re-
gan had in mind from what the President
had previously proposed to him in writ-
ing. But now the world at large knew what
Mr Reagan had suggested and would be
expecting Mr Brezhnev to outline in de-
tail in his talks with Herr Schmidt what
he had to say in reply.

By virtue of President Reagan's pro-
posals Chancellor Schmidt was able to
enter into talks with the Soviet leader
greatly strengthened.

His hand was also strengthened in deal-
ing with fellow-Social Democrats and
non-SPD members of the peace move-
ment who saw disarmament salvation in
unilateral Western moves: a zero option
that would be nothing of the kind.

The zero option Washington and
Bonn have in mind would entail the
West abandoning missile modernisation
using new US devices on condition that
the Soviet Union scrapped its SS-20
missiles aimed at targets in Western Eu-
rope.

This, one is bound to admit, would be
an ideal solution it will be difficult to
accomplish. The Soviet Union envisages
a zero at an entirely different point.

Moscow would like at all cost to re-
tain the arms build-up it has already
undertaken, but at the Geneva confer-
ence table it will have to be cards down
at some stage or other.

In many ways the cards are already on
the table, with President Reagan having
led his highest trump. *Hans Stollhans*
(*Litkecker Nachrichten*, 20 November 1981)

RS Can nuclear war: can it be limited?

Could nuclear war be limited, say to Europe? America and Russia disagree. President Reagan says he could imagine the two sides being deterred from launching a full-scale strategic nuclear attack if tactical theatre nuclear weapons had already been used. President Brezhnev says there can be no 'limited' nuclear war. Once nuclear hostilities begin, in Europe or elsewhere, the war would inevitably, irrevocably assume a world-wide character. Four-star General Gerd Schmückle, deputy supreme commander of NATO until last year, here gives Welt am Sonntag his views on the subject.

Both heads of government are right, in their own way, I believe. Mr Brezhnev was talking in terms of deterrence, which naturally includes all options, up to and including the hydrogen bomb, as a means of preventing war.

Mr Reagan was referring to the possibility of the deterrent failing to deter, in which case nuclear hostilities ought to be brought to a halt at the lowest possible level.

America has succeeded in reverting to a global strategy, whereas NATO strategy is geographically limited. It remains to be seen what influence global strategy will have on NATO strategy and vice-versa.

There is no reason why people should be alarmed by this state of affairs, although it would naturally be better if NATO were to join in the debate.

Contradictory though US statements may seem to be, they are no less contradictory than comments by German politicians must seem to be from an American point of view.

The strategy of massive retaliation was a unique period in the history of NATO, but is now history.

It was very good for Europe, being based on global US nuclear supremacy. But this supremacy no longer exists and, in my opinion, it has gone for good.

The nuclear threshold was very, very low. I cannot imagine future strategy ever reaching such a low threshold.

Setting up the range of deterrence is a tough, complex, ongoing task at which we must persevere. Let us assume the deterrent failed to deter.

Were this to happen, the US President would naturally alone decide whether or not nuclear weapons were to be used. This would not, of course, apply to the British or French deterrents.

The supreme commander, Allied powers Europe, an American, would say what he felt was necessary. His recommendation would go straight to the US President and the North Atlantic Council.

This NATO council has only a consultative role, but although that is not enough and ought to be improved, it is at least a say in the decision.

There would certainly be enough time in which to consult with the US President, although I am far from sure how long it might take the 15 member-countries of the North Atlantic Council to reach a decision on such a momentous subject.

If there were a war, no-one, neither the US President nor the Soviet head of

government, can tell whether it could be brought to a halt at a low level.

Where nuclear war was concerned I am not an optimist. I also fear that a war, once it had begun with the use of nuclear weapons in Europe, would tend to escalate fast in view of the short notice of impending strikes.

In the nuclear age the teleprinter link between Washington and Moscow, popularly known as the red telephone between the White House and the Kremlin, would naturally be operational.

So it should be, to prevent the disaster of war and, failing that, to limit it.

I cannot imagine nuclear war spreading to Europe from a conflict anywhere else in the world. That would only be possible if the other part of the world were of such immense importance to America and Russia as to be comparable with that of Europe.

The danger is no longer as serious as it was before the First World War, when a spark from the Balkans ignited a powder keg that blew up all Europe.

The nuclear deterrent is one reason why the risk is no longer as acute as it then was.

Vietnam deters the Americans from running any such risks and Afghanistan, or so I should imagine, currently deters the Russians from doing so.

Countries on whose soil nuclear weapons, especially medium-range missiles, are based ought to have a greater say in their deployment.

I could envisage a crisis Cabinet meeting: not an organisation, just one Minister, a man enjoying the greatest confidence of NATO heads of government.

He would sit in the same room as the US President once the nuclear decision-making began. He could then advise the President on European interests and such national interests as might predominate.

Now that nuclear launching systems are based in Europe we have gained a first insight into US planning objectives and are, for the first time ever, in a position to exert influence on US nuclear policy as a whole.

This is a major and dramatic step forward as far as Europe is concerned. What we have yet to succeed in gaining is a say in the final process of decision.

One advantage we have is that the British and German deputies to the supreme Allied commander in Europe can advise the American C-in-C when a nuclear requisition is submitted to the US President and the North Atlantic Council.

No-one can say when the Americans might be prepared to escalate into the range of nuclear war options. NATO has no hard-and-fast programmes that automatically escalate.

We decide in accordance with the given situation and the given situation determines the means of warfare selected for use.

I am convinced the Americans will stand by their commitments to Europe; they have done so in the past.

A much more critical point is whether the Europeans are going to stand by their commitments to America or to put it better, to the North Atlantic pact.

I take a very sceptical view given the current trend, which is based in part on the depressed state of the economy.

Without a doubt it is also based, however, on a shortfall of political earnest in a number of NATO countries. They are short on the will to do what, as it were, the Warsaw Pact forces on us.

I can only hope that the Europeans will come to appreciate their responsibilities.

Gerd Schmückle

(Welt am Sonntag, 15 November 1981)

Brezhnev sees how the land lies

Continued from page 1

jeopardised more by Washington than by Moscow.

How does Moscow assess Bonn's role? The Soviet Union, unlike America, does not engage in dialogue on a basis of equality with its allies, while in the West Moscow is no longer talking with anyone really.

The only Western politicians with whom the Kremlin is still on speaking terms are Helmut Schmidt and Hans-Dietrich Genscher, the West's longest-serving head of government and Foreign Minister respectively.

Ties with the Bonn coalition are hard hit politically, yet Moscow behaves as though relations with the Social and Free Democrats in Bonn were a lasting example to be followed even when times are hard.

Does this perhaps mean that the Kremlin attaches absolute priority to enticing Bonn to defect from the West? Probably not.

By virtue of its arms build-up and its late colonial self-service in countries ranging from Angola to Afghanistan the Soviet Union has only itself to blame for its ties of old with the Western world all but going by the board.

That is why the Kremlin today (and its leaders have always tended to be on the cautious side) is no longer in a position to calculate the risks its policy entails.

If Russia were to aim exclusively at encouraging peace movements and at softening up the Federal Republic of Germany, the gap between it and America would grow even wider and the old balance of power would be put fully out of joint.

The Russians are more firmly fixated on the Americans than the Europeans are, and this is likely to remain the case. They need American grain shipments and are afraid of America's alarming potential for military innovations.

Bonn faces the tough task of putting this Soviet interest to good use for arms control purposes and of continually urging the two superpowers to practice moderation.

Mr Brezhnev's visit presented an opportunity of so doing. Chancellor Schmidt had to try and make it clear to his Soviet visitors that in America, as in Russia, propaganda was currently determining the course of politics, and not vice-versa.

This makes it more difficult and confusing for America to learn its lesson which, despite flexing its verbal muscles, Washington is clearly willing to do.

Herr Schmidt will have been able to tell the Soviet leaders from personal experience that President Reagan is willing and able to listen.

A number of other leading members of the Reagan administration are likewise willing to give arguments a fair hearing.

The Chancellor will have told Mr Brezhnev that neither of them have much time left in which to avert a total breakdown of arms control talks.

With an eye on the Geneva talks between the superpowers on medium-range missiles he will have called for a quantifiable interim result, for Moscow to state clearly where it would stand until summer 1983.

If it failed to do so, Pershing 2 and Cruise missiles would inevitably be deployed in Europe, a development that could only be forestalled by a twingeing

cut in the number of Soviet SS-20 missiles stationed in Europe.

The Geneva talks, Herr Schmidt has failed to point out, are the means by which missile modernisation can still be brought to a halt.

But how seriously will the K take this warning? Moscow will take it, but only if it is backed by Washington responses politically and diplomatically.

If America fails to do so, the talks cannot be expected to make any way either next year or the year after.

Missile modernisation is under way in the West before the delays that have arisen from Cruise missile test schedules.

Britain is due to start allowing missiles to be deployed in Europe, resistance, led by the Labour Party, ready gaining momentum.

1984 is likely to be an election year in Britain. It will be one in Germany, America too, and even in the USSR the peace movement is regaining lost ground.

The Soviet Union could deal modernisation plans an even more blow if it were to offer by moratorium on the deployment of medium-range missiles and a unilateral withdrawal of SS-20 missiles.

But Moscow is not given to major concessions of any substance, especially in advance of the Geneva talks.

So the value of Mr Brezhnev's visit to Bonn was not to be measured in terms of what the communists proclaimed.

Not even the gas-for-pipeline deal, in major contract Helmut Schmidt defended until the last minute against objections, is a far cry from the vision Mr Brezhnev conjured back in 1973.

Economic cooperation remains security policy. The investment in the needs to ensure long-term energy supplies with the aid of Western technology will prove impossible unless military balance in Europe is struck at a low level as possible.

Whiskey 137, the Soviet submarine stranded off Sweden, drastically reduced Scandinavian interest in a nuclear zone just before Mr Brezhnev's visit to Bonn.

This incident demonstrated only too well that Moscow's prospects in Europe will remain strictly limited as long as it does not show willing to practice moderation.

Yet were it not for the firm line between Bonn and the Kremlin, the would stand no chance, whatever of taining the benefits derived from détente.

Christian Schmidt

(Die Zeit, 20 November 1981)

The German Tribune

Publisher: Friedrich Reinecke, Editor: Heinz, Editor: Alexander Anthony, English Editor: Simon Burnett. Distribution: Georgine Floore. Friedrich Reinecke Verlag GmbH, 23 Schwanenstraße, Hamburg 76, Tel.: 22 85 71, Telex: 62 14733.

Advertising rates list No. 19

Annual subscription DM 35.

Printed by Druck- und Verlagsanstalt Friedrich Reinecke, Hamburg.

MAILING: Inc. 540 West 24th Street, New York 10011.

All articles in this German Tribune are published in cooperation with the editorial staff of the Federal Republic of Germany.

They are complete translations of the original and no way plagiarized nor editorially redrafted.

In all correspondence please quote your subscription number which appears on the wrapper, together with the address.

Despondency in Bonn as coalition wonders when time will run out

The first psychological signal would have to come from a reshuffle of the cabinet.

Since Schmidt seems determined to stay at the head of the government, any speculation involving him would be futile. Still, from the coalition vantage point there are sound reasons for both his staying in government and his turning the reins over soon to Johannes Rau or Hans Jochen Vogel.

There are enough candidates to make a cabinet reshuffle on a major scale feasible.

But such a reshuffle would only make sense if it were more than just a reform in the personnel sector; in other words, if it were to pave the way for a review of the dogmatic austerity course of Matthöfer and Lambsdorff.

The government is naturally not in a position to join forces with the business community and so create a million new jobs as demanded by Heinz Oskar Vetter, the chairman of the Trade Union Federation (DGB).

But the government can take the initiative in creating jobs, as for instance by promoting the introduction of shorter working times.

On the question of flexible retirement age, the government could ensure socially acceptable conditions for workers who want to make use of early retirement.

Target-oriented employment measures remain a politically delicate business. But considering the situation on the labour

market, even the FDP can no longer afford to resist action in this sector. For instance: an investment offensive for the protection of the environment (forest rehabilitation, for one).

If the government were to embark on such action it would probably also be able to come up with financing methods other than additional borrowing (for instance: a special levy).

The trade unions, in their turn, would probably be willing to touch upon their old social affairs tabus if this were necessary within the framework of a sweeping employment programme.

In conjunction with such measures, the government would have to intensify its political discussion with the Bundesbank. Waiting for lower interest rates is seen as the greatest obstacle to investment right now.

The annual economic report at the beginning of 1982 is supposed to give some information on the future stance of the Social Liberal coalition.

And a look at the political timetable for next year shows that this would be the very last chance for the SPD/FDP coalition.

There are four State elections next year — two of major national importance: in Hamburg and Hesse.

The way things stand today, Schmidt could well topple along with Holger Börner over the issue of the additional Frankfurt airport runway in the autumn of 1982.

Though all this is speculation, one thing is certain: if the coalition continues its paralysed wait-and-see policy it will not last another year.

The question of where the blame lies would then be the only one of some interest. In any event, the mourning will not be excessive.

Werner A. Perger

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 22 November 1981)

There is hardly another Western government whose top politicians have as much experience in East-West relations. And in view of the continued confusion in America's foreign policy this is an asset which the peace movement underestimates.

The question as to what good a continued SPD/FDP government would do for the labour market is not so easy to answer. The warning that comes from Britain and the consequences of Thatcherism in that country loses its deterrent effect the more the government — along with the opposition — deplores the abuse and excesses of the social security system and the more it makes austerity an end in itself, letting it go at lamenting the bad times and hoping for better ones.

Trade unions, spurred by their angry grassroots, react grimly. They are becoming increasingly militant: 70,000 demonstrated in Stuttgart recently.

A trade union march on Bonn would in fact make the 10 October peace demonstration look like a Sunday stroll.

So how could the Schmidt/Genscher government still demonstrate its will to survive and its remaining energy and tenacity?

The trade union strategy against Bonn's austerity measures does not come as a surprise.

What is unexpected, however, is the vehemence of the attack not only against the FDP but, for the first time, also against the Social Democrats.

The SPD has always been close to the unions.

This disenchantment at union grassroots was clearly demonstrated at the mammoth demonstration in Stuttgart when the district head of the Metalworkers Union, Franz Steinkühler, earned himself a storm of applause when he called for employment-promoting measures.

The response was so overwhelming as to make it almost redundant for Metalworkers boss Eugen Loderer to announce further union action should continued pay in case of illness or unemployment benefits be pared down.

Things are clearly happening in this country; more so than is visible on the surface and probably of a worse nature than evidenced by union demonstrations.

All four aims of our stability and growth laws have been violated: we neither have a balanced foreign trade nor do we have adequate economic growth, price stability or full employment.

It is little use to say, as the Chancellor and his finance minister have been doing, that we are better off than our neighbours in Western Europe and the USA.

And as to the workers and employers, they have been paralysed by government helplessness and inactivity.

So it is not surprising that the German Trade Union Federation (DGB) now says "so far and no further."

Other possibility would be for the government to prove its political determination to stay at the helm and to explain, in other words, to explain.

Who knows that the government has that it has simply proved itself in foreign policy and that it views its mandate to stay in power.

And, the political commitment would be a pretty original and basic contribution to the international economic policy. But it would do any good would be to be seen. In any event, the government will never contemplate such a

result, it would have to stake its reputation on the optimism-promoting of an immediate change of guard.

It would be a pretty original and basic contribution to the international economic policy. But it would do any good would be to be seen. In any event, the government will never contemplate such a

result, it would have to stake its reputation on the optimism-promoting of an immediate change of guard.

It would be a pretty original and basic contribution to the international economic policy. But it would do any good would be to be seen. In any event, the government will never contemplate such a

result, it would have to stake its reputation on the optimism-promoting of an immediate change of guard.

Unions' strong resistance to economies

But this must not be seen as a declaration of war or even as an implacable response by organised labour. Though this has not been expressly voiced, the unions are prepared to go along with the austerity measures as they stand right now.

And at least as far as the unions are concerned, these measures are no peanuts: those who quit their jobs will have to wait longer before getting dole money; no unemployment benefits for those who have not paid into the fund; cutbacks in vocational rehabilitation programmes; abolition of provisions whereby those earning less than DM390 are not subject to social security contributions; reduction of child allowances; and 6,000 fewer posts in the civil service — to mention but a few of the most important cutbacks.

The budget cuts affect the working population to the tune of DM10bn.

And it is still not certain that this will be enough. Since our social security system is based on stable development, further cutbacks will become necessary unless there is growth.

But whether these cutbacks must be made by whittling away at unemployment benefits and at continued salaries during illness, as called for by Economic Affairs Minister Count Lambsdorff, remains to be seen.

It should be possible to economise elsewhere.

Unions' strong resistance to economies

Unions' strong resistance to economies

Unions' strong resistance to economies

Unions' strong resistance to economies

It is therefore not surprising that the chairman of the DGB, Heinz Oskar Vetter, has called on all economically relevant social groups to meet.

An initial talk between the Chancellor, the trade unions, the business community and the Bundesbank has meanwhile taken place.

Let us hope that future discussions of this nature will produce more than just ritualised exercises in presenting the respective positions of the opposing parties as has so frequently happened.

Prospects are not bad. For one thing, these talks, in the Chancellor's bungalow, are in private. For another, Herr Vetter has already said that the unions would be prepared to make concessions that will be painful provided the other side does the same.

This means that the trade unions will put up with a loss in real income for the workers if the government agrees to take steps to reduce unemployment.

There is a good reason for making the Bundesbank take part in these talks. The central bank has been called upon by the unions and by parts of the government to reduce the interest rates.

Though this would not automatically engender an upswing, lower interest rates would reduce the burden on business and provide investment incentives.

Ultimately, the success of any such measures will also depend on the discipline of the business community.

It would have to exercise price restraint as a precondition for lower wage deals. Working hour must be shortened.

If trade unions, employers and the Bundesbank agree on this kind of crisis management it would serve as a positive signal.

Anjon Hunger

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 10 November 1981)

■ INDUSTRY

Textile workers protest as jobs vanish by the thousand

About 25,000 textile workers took part in a rally in Bonn to draw attention to their industry's plight.

It is likely that by the end of the year, there will be 70,000 fewer workers in the industry than at the end of last year.

A secretary of the textiles and clothing workers union, Alfred Hänel, says: "Imagine the hue and cry if 70,000 steel workers were sacked at one fell swoop."

There is no doubt that there would be an uproar.

The loss of 70,000 jobs in iron and steel would mean, for instance, a total shutdown in the Saar, which has 38,000 steelworkers, and the closure of Hoesch in Dortmund too, with its 21,000 jobs.

Alternatively Thyssen, a leading manufacturer, Peine Salzgitter, a state-owned company, and Klöckner — all large companies — would have to go to the wall.

Yet will there be a hue and cry over the 70,000 textile jobs? No.

The reasons are easily outlined. The 200,000-odd steelworkers are employed by about a dozen large companies and represented by the largest trade union in the country.

The half a million textiles and clothing workers are employed by well over 5,000 small firms and backed by a much smaller union.

This year Bonn has promised the steel industry DM1.8bn in subsidies to prevent mass redundancies.

Management and staff of the textile industry, in contrast, have been told by Economic Affairs Minister Count Lambsdorff how wonderful the free market economy is.

Berthold Keller, general secretary of the 300,000-strong textile workers union, has arranged for the protest in Bonn.

It was not the first time they had drawn attention to their plight. Factory

'Gatt agreement has failed to protect home industry'

meetings, platform debates and local protest gatherings have been held since September to get the message across to local and state politicians and Bonn MPs.

Letters and personal visits have been written and paid to persuade political leaders in Bonn that something must be done to improve matters.

A year ago a one-hour token strike was held to draw attention to the plight of weavers and spinners, tailors, cutters and finishers.

So far the cumulative effect of all these moves has been most unsatisfactory as far as union officials are concerned.

The Bonn rally will be the climax for the time being of the trade union's campaign for job security in textiles and clothing. It coincides with the Geneva Gatt talks on a new international textiles agreement.

The outcome of the renegotiations will be of crucial importance for the future of the domestic industry and its workers.

The current international textiles agreement, regulating the trade in textiles and clothing between developing and industrialised countries, runs out at



the end of this year. It will have been in force for four years.

While generally upholding the principle of free world trade in textiles it imposed quotas on a number of sensitive products.

Twenty-eight developing countries that signed the agreement were affected by them. They include Hong Kong, India, China, Yugoslavia, Poland, Singapore and the Philippines.

They are allotted export quotas for their trade in the scheduled products, while the European Community countries are allotted import quotas for them.

The outgoing agreement included an average annual growth rate of six per cent for the exporting countries.

The German union says the agreement has failed, by any stretch of the imagination, to live up to its original purpose, which was to protect home industry.

So the union's demands are not only for a new agreement to be negotiated but also for substantially improved terms, such as quota growth rates of one-and-a-half per cent per annum.

In the industrialised countries, it argues, growth rates in the consumption of textiles and clothing have been negligible for years.

It would also like to see terms renegotiated not for four years but for ten. This would ensure for the industry a reasonable safety margin within which to reach investment decisions, it feels.

The union would not like to be accused of opposing the developing countries, so it has called for a distinction to be drawn between industrialised developing countries and bona fide developing countries.

It has a point. Fifty-five per cent of textiles and 75 per cent of clothing imported come from one of the four textile giants in the developing world: Hong Kong, South Korea, Taiwan and Macao.

The agreement ought also to include minimum welfare provisions for workers in the industry, provisions that are to apply worldwide.

This, the union argues, would appreciably stem the tide of cut-price textiles.

In its fight to save jobs in the domestic industry the trade union is not alone. The management are with it all the way. It is an entire industry's fight for survival.

Both agree in their assessment of the situation. Both have paid the price of free world trade, and it has been a heavy one for all concerned.

Since the mid-60s the textiles and clothing industry has steadily lost ground, and the trend continues unabated. In 1962 there were 4,381 textiles companies with a payroll of nearly 590,000.

Numbers have since declined almost uninterrupted. At the end of last year only 2,249 companies were left. Their combined turnover was DM33bn, their payroll a mere 304,000.

In 1966 there were still 406,000 peo-

ple employed by nearly 5,630 clothing manufacturers. By the end of last year only 3,210 were left. Their turnover was DM20.7bn, their payroll 249,000.

In the 70s alone the number of both companies and people working for them in both industries declined by nearly 40 per cent.

Textiles and clothing companies have traditionally been based in areas where there was not much industry and every job counted.

Along the GDR border and in Upper Franconia, the Lower Rhine, the countryside between Münster and the Dutch border, the Bavarian forest and the Swabian Alb regions unemployment is a constant problem.

Well over half the textile and clothing workers are women, and the union suspects that import policies for textiles are pursued without inhibitions because jobs for women are not felt to matter.

The increasing glut of cheap textiles imported have obviously contributed towards the industry's plight.

In the course of the 70s imports increased in value from DM8.7bn to

'It is felt that women's jobs do not matter'

DM25.8bn, or nearly trebled. Exports merely doubled in value, from DM7bn to DM16.3bn.

The surplus of imports over exports more than quadrupled to DM9.5bn.

Yet the Federal Republic of Germany has not only proved a receptive market in which free trade prevailed; domestic manufacturers have also proved competitive internationally.

In both imports and exports the Germans lead the world. On the import side they are ahead of both the United States and France. In exports they have run rings round Italy and France, both countries renowned for their fashions.

Despite this hue and cry over the Geneva talks it must be borne in mind that in textiles the industrialised countries do most business with each other.

For years the major customers of German clothing and textiles manufacturers have been the Dutch, French and Austrians.

For years the Italians, French, Belgians and Dutch were Germany's major suppliers. But the ratings changed markedly in the 70s.

Among countries that export to Germany, Italy and France are now followed by Hong Kong, while Greece is sixth, Yugoslavia tenth and Yugoslavia eleventh.

In many parts of the market imports have long been essential. Tee shirts, for instance, are no longer manufactured in Germany.

Imports account for 93 per cent of underwear and lingerie sold in Germany, while 97 per cent of the country's anoraks were made up abroad.

About 85 per cent of rainwear is imported, as is every other dress and costume; not to mention 90 per cent of men's shirts and 70 per cent of blouses and trousers.

Domestic textiles and clothing companies do much of the importing, by eliminating home jobs, as they dilly concede, although no-one is sure of the figures.

Helmut Wienholt of the Retail Importers Association says 45 per cent of imported finished products are imported by home industry.

So both unions and employers allegations of in any way advocating protectionism. They feel, indeed, that as pure as the driven snow world where everyone else has a lead towards protectionism.

Many threshold countries have done off domestic markets by imposing virtually insuperable tariff barriers. The offenders here range from Brazil to South Korea.

Even within the European Community not all member-countries are fair. The EEC Council of Ministers says Bonn far exceeds its 28.5-per-cent share of Common Market clothing textile imports, whilst others take care not to do so.

Germany makes up over 36 per cent of the EEC's total, whereas France, at 13.4 per cent, is five per cent below quota. Britain too, with an allocation of 23.5 per cent, has managed to curb its imports to 18.3 per cent.

In France and Italy the state has ways lent a helping hand to the industry, for which both have traditionally been renowned.

German representatives at the EEC certainly seem to have failed to convince the others of the benefits to be derived from unfettered trade.

The attitude taken by Count Lambsdorff is diametrically opposed to the viewpoint held by his French counterpart, and this failure to agree has condemned the Common Market committee to inactivity in Geneva.

They are bound by the terms of the Treaty of Rome to speak with one voice and if unable to arrive at a common denominator have no choice but to do nothing at all, which is hardly likely to improve their position at the Geneva talks.

Count Lambsdorff is in favour of continuing with the terms of the outgoing agreement, where, as his colleagues in Britain, France, Italy and Belgium would like to negotiate cutbacks.

Their aim is to persuade the committee to reduce their import quotas to the trends in consumer demand.

A compromise now seems possible. It would be continuation of the old agreement.

'German failure to put over free-trade argument'

ment followed by bilateral agreements with exporting countries on import restrictions.

For both the union and the employers in Germany this is anything but a most satisfactory solution. Hardly any of the demands they share can be met by bilateral talks.

So the union is already thinking in terms of its next rally but one.

"If the EEC Council of Ministers agrees on a viewpoint that is too far removed from the trade union position," says Herr Hänel, "there will be a gathering in Brussels attended by representatives of textile workers from all over Europe."

■ BUSINESS

Mixed feelings over new AEG rescue



by experience, the staff of AEG received the news of the rescue action by a consortium of banks with mixed feelings.

Unfavourable forecasts, the pending rescue operation in 1979 was by 20,000 redundancies in its second largest electrical company.

Council Chairman Hans Hensel says the staff has become used in a few years to negative forecasts and positive ones only half as good as best. So the management have to pull up its socks if it is to keep the staff.

Rubke also stresses that the banks will guarantee the fulfilment of the concern for only a few years.

In 1983, AEG, whose balance sheet last year with a loss five times since suspected to stand on its own feet

will be a lovely birthday gift to the company, which, in 1983, will celebrate its 100th anniversary. But this is not to plug the many holes that are plaguing the company.

The trouble spots is Telefunken, entertainment electronics. But the company has already started to halve its capacity in Italy and to cure its Mexican and Spanish head-

quarters. Problem areas are the home appliances sector, capital goods and office equipment.

The plant sector of plant technology is probably the easiest to put back in the Olympia works in Wilhelmshaven shows signs of improvement.

The biggest problem for Dürr clearly is the home appliances sector. His action there is becoming dispiriting: production will include appliances that can be mass-

produced. Possessed by unbridled greed, Bühler (whose wastefulness was later rewarded when he was made chairman of the Supervisory Board) bought up close to 50 medium-sized consumer goods manufacturers.

But the early 1960s also marked the beginning of the decline when the home appliance expert Hans Bühler became the company's chief executive and wasted a lot of money through bad investment.

Posessed by unbridled greed, Bühler (whose wastefulness was later rewarded when he was made chairman of the Supervisory Board) bought up close to 50 medium-sized consumer goods manufacturers.

But it has not yet been decided whether Hoesch will enter into another steel marriage with a German company, Rohweder told the meeting.

Krupp, however, is reluctant to burden a new steel merger with problems that would arise from any solution involving a foreign company.

The Hoesch executive said that the German-Dutch marriage had been a disaster, and that the company was now looking for a new partner.

The next (third) round of talks between Hoesch, Krupp and Rohweder is expected to take place in the near future.

The next (third) round of talks between Hoesch, Krupp and Rohweder is expected to take place in the near future.

The next (third) round of talks between Hoesch, Krupp and Rohweder is expected to take place in the near future.

Big steel deal pops at the rivets

But it has not yet been decided whether Hoesch will enter into another steel marriage with a German company, Rohweder told the meeting.

Krupp, however, is reluctant to burden a new steel merger with problems that would arise from any solution involving a foreign company.

The Hoesch executive said that the German-Dutch marriage had been a disaster, and that the company was now looking for a new partner.

The next (third) round of talks between Hoesch, Krupp and Rohweder is expected to take place in the near future.



Chief executive Heinz Dürr... the lonely optimist. (Photo: AEG-Telefunken)

It was under him that the former classical maker of capital goods became topheavy on the consumer goods side. This was particularly dangerous because good quality vacuum cleaners or heating appliances can also be made by low wage countries. But this was not all.

AEG had a hard time getting off the ground again after war's end. Unlike its main competitor, Siemens, the end of the war saw AEG with a mere 10 per cent of its production facilities.

Nine factories in East Berlin and the GDR were lost, and the company had to write off assets worth one billion reichsmarks.

All that remained for the company in the West was the factories in Nuremberg, Stuttgart and Mülheim/Ruhr.

The new start had to be financed by borrowing and the company now finds itself saddled with a debt burden of DM5.6bn.

Post-1945 sales grew fairly steadily but profits — even in good years — lagged behind those of Siemens.

Things were different in the company's first 50 years. For instance, between 1894 and 1900 the payroll quintupled, and AEG's 17,000 workers accounted for a business volume of 100m marks. Sales rose sixfold in as many years.

There was no such steep rise after World War II. In fact, it is eight years since AEG paid its 110,000 stockholders a measly dividend of five per cent. Ever since, they have wound up empty-handed.

But the early 1960s also marked the beginning of the decline when the home appliance expert Hans Bühler became the company's chief executive and wasted a lot of money through bad investment.

Possessed by unbridled greed, Bühler (whose wastefulness was later rewarded when he was made chairman of the Supervisory Board) bought up close to 50 medium-sized consumer goods manufacturers.

But the early 1960s also marked the beginning of the decline when the home appliance expert Hans Bühler became the company's chief executive and wasted a lot of money through bad investment.

Possessed by unbridled greed, Bühler (whose wastefulness was later rewarded when he was made chairman of the Supervisory Board) bought up close to 50 medium-sized consumer goods manufacturers.

But the early 1960s also marked the beginning of the decline when the home appliance expert Hans Bühler became the company's chief executive and wasted a lot of money through bad investment.

Possessed by unbridled greed, Bühler (whose wastefulness was later rewarded when he was made chairman of the Supervisory Board) bought up close to 50 medium-sized consumer goods manufacturers.

But the early 1960s also marked the beginning of the decline when the home appliance expert Hans Bühler became the company's chief executive and wasted a lot of money through bad investment.

Possessed by unbridled greed, Bühler (whose wastefulness was later rewarded when he was made chairman of the Supervisory Board) bought up close to 50 medium-sized consumer goods manufacturers.

But the early 1960s also marked the beginning of the decline when the home appliance expert Hans Bühler became the company's chief executive and wasted a lot of money through bad investment.

No change in Siemens' dividend

Considering the company's poor performance, Siemens should have reduced its latest dividend payment. But the management was reluctant to broadcast its weakness and decided to pay the same dividend it had been paying for years: DM8 per share.

But the money had to come from somewhere, and in this instance it was the open reserves that were pared down.

The dividend was maintained for the sake of the company's international standing and reputation.

But the problems are there for all to see. It became evident in the summer that profits, which had been declining for years, had arrived at the modest level of 1.5 per cent.

Naturally, this led to speculation that Siemens' star was waning and one magazine came up with the headline "The giant that overslept".

The stock market, with its unerring nose, responded promptly.

There was a time when no portfolio was considered complete without Siemens, the bluest of blue chips. This was due, among other things, to the traditionally high regard in which the Siemens management was held as a paragon of soundness and continuity.

But as soon as the first tremors reached the market, Siemens stock began to drop. At the beginning of this year, shares were still quoted at DM269. Now they have dropped to DM200.

There are essentially two key areas that account for the diminished profits: data processing and plant components are in the red to the tune of half a billion.

After the unavoidable teething problems, data processing seemed to be approaching the point where it would break even. But here Siemens had to compete with the American giant IBM — a formidable task.

In the plant components sector things looked promising to start with. The company's policy was directed at growth and acquisition.

All went well until the general state of the economy thwarted plans. Due to the world-wide economic decline, the plant components sector found itself in straits. Massive undercutting by foreign competitors led to considerable losses and forecasts now have to be reviewed. Siemens is trying to remedy the situation by adopting streamlining and reorganizing. It could be said that nobody can "fight" the general economic doldrums. But there is more to it. The public suddenly learned of friction among the top echelon of Siemens.

Rebuffed in the data processing sector went off relatively smoothly, but the replacement of the head of the plant components division caused a considerable rift in the company.

The rift was caused by a combination of factors. The new head of the plant components division, Dr. Hans-Joachim Lauth, was a former Siemens executive who had been in charge of the company's data processing division.

Dr. Lauth's appointment was seen as a move to strengthen the company's data processing division, which had been a major area of weakness.

However, the move was also seen as a power play, with Dr. Lauth seeking to establish his own authority within the company.

The rift between Dr. Lauth and the other top executives of Siemens has been a source of concern for the company's shareholders.

It is hoped that the company's management will be able to overcome these difficulties and return the company to its former glory.

Siemens' standing in the foundations and its liquid assets amount to several billion marks. But this does not include the company's debt.

The company's management is aware of the need to reduce its debt and improve its financial position.

It is hoped that the company's management will be able to overcome these difficulties and return the company to its former glory.

■ THE WELFARE STATE

Bismarck gets ball rolling and steals march on socialists

1881 is generally taken as the year in which the groundwork was laid in Germany for the system of comprehensive social security. On 17 November Chancellor Bismarck read out the Reichstag an Imperial proclamation in which Kaiser Wilhelm announced his intention of making insurance provision for old age, ill-health and industrial injury.

Social security in Germany could, in a nutshell, be said to have been introduced by Bismarck in a bid to outflank the Socialists, banned since 1878.

It all began a century ago when the Imperial proclamation that has gone down in German history as the magna carta of social security was read out to the Reichstag.

The proclamation said that working men had a legal right to assistance in the event of sickness, industrial injury and disability and to a pension in old age.

Insurance societies were to be set up as cooperatives on the basis of mutual assistance and self-administration.

The view that a man unable to work (and his family) ought not to be left to their fate goes back millennia, to Ancient Greece and Rome, to early Christianity and the Middle Ages.

But the medieval Poor Law broke down in Germany during the Thirty Years' War. It was replaced by mutual assistance arrangements made by crafts and guilds.

They too proved insufficient when, from the mid-19th century, the indus-

trial revolution changed the face of Germany, taking millions of industrial workers into overcrowded and unhygienic cities.

Business boomed in the Reich after the Franco-Prussian War of 1870/71, but a recession that lasted from 1873 to 1896 led to domestic unrest.

The poor grew ever poorer and mutual assistance societies ought, it was suggested, to be transformed into a comprehensive system of government-supervised social security.

Chancellor Bismarck saw plans for a 'uniform accident, health insurance and pension scheme as a welcome opportunity of undermining the growing popularity of the Socialists.

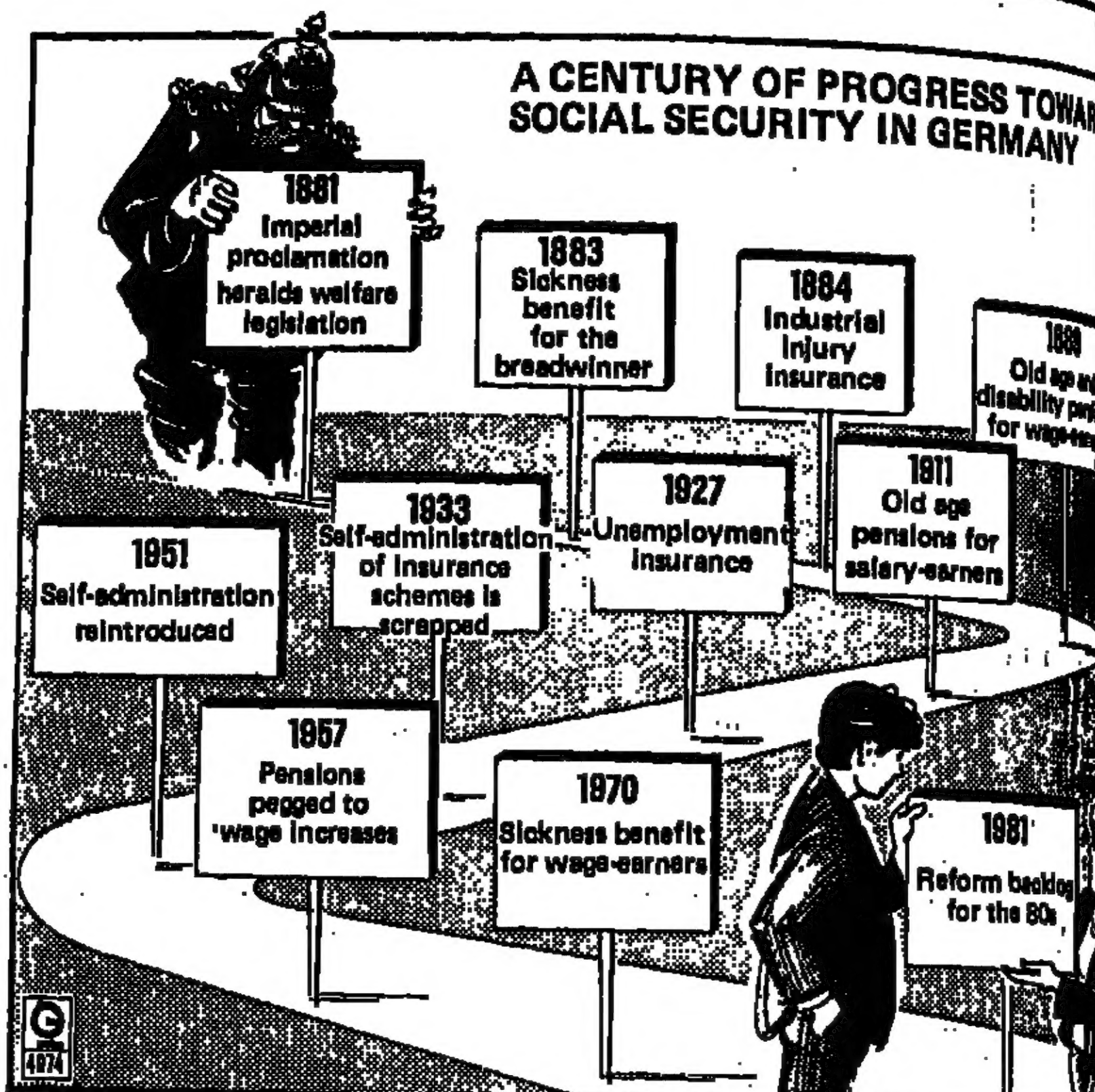
The first comprehensive health insurance scheme took effect in December 1884. Insured persons were entitled to free medical treatment and up to 13 weeks sickness benefit.

The scheme was run by any number of local, works and other insurance societies. The medical profession was not enamoured of it.

Doctors earned only between 80 pfennigs and a mark per consultation and treatment, whereas private patients paid much higher and more lucrative fees.

Progressive industrialisation soon showed up the weaknesses of the scheme. Only about one person in five was insured: the breadwinner but not his family.

Besides, there were well over 22,000



different approved societies administering the health insurance scheme.

During the First World War and the recession that followed it most of these societies went bankrupt, whereupon the entire health insurance system was reorganised and standardised.

Salary-earners (white-collar, as opposed to blue-collar workers) had a separate insurance scheme of their own from 1911. They laid claim to a status midway between that of the workers and the management.

Low-income salary-earners were compulsorily insured, but higher income brackets were allowed to choose between voluntary insurance and opting out.

In 1934 unemployment insurance was introduced as a separate scheme.

After the Second World War the entire social security system had to be built. Welfare state provisions were embodied in Basic Law, the 1949 constitution.

Individuals and groups not previously insured were gradually included in the scope of the system, while private insurance schemes were steadily improved.

Two crucial improvements in the post-war period have been regular increases in pensions and allowances. At the latest, a convoy of new nuclear power stations were to be built between the Alps and the North Sea.

German manufacturers were also aiming to build mini-nukes (power plants, not warheads) to help the developing countries to boost living stand-

ards.

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 18 November 1981)

Arithmetic of entire system reveals growing problems



Its economic consequence is the failure to comply with immediate and long-term requirements that would ensure economic survival.

The talk is all of Operation '82 and its current rearward actions.

Since the summer theatricals in Bonn last August so many promises have been broken that people have increasingly lost faith in the willingness or ability of political leaders.

Talk of a major turning point has not been followed by action, thereby missing an opportunity that could have accomplished so much more than any pump-priming exercise.

The shortcomings in the economic sector are, for the most part, that Operation '82 has done justice to neither the immediate cyclical nor the long-term structural tasks the country faces.

The increase in unemployment insurance contributions leads to an additional burden on company profits imposed by wage costs that bear no relation to the trading position.

It is bound to affect the climate of economic investment, especially as this additional cost factor is bound not to be

taken into account in the forthcoming round of wage talks.

A first, albeit hesitant step in the right direction is the proposal to change the basis on which unemployment benefit is assessed.

It could just make people drawing benefit keener to resume employment.

Viewed jointly with the higher unemployment insurance contribution it might even exert psychological pressure to end abuse of the system by a few shirkers.

There are no legal objections to Bonn pocketing the Bundesbank's annual profits. This is the usual practice in other countries too.

Difficulties arise when one considers where the money is to be spent. It will neither be used for debt servicing nor to reduce the amount needed in new loans.

It will not even be used to boost government investment, which has been curtailed heavily in recent years. The construction industry, where so many companies are going to the wall these days, could well have done with an increase in public spending.

In the foreseeable future investment in the private sector is sure to be strictly limited.

The longer-term monetary consequences of this payout of Bundesbank profits seem likely to further limit

investment potential in the private sector.

This is because the profits are distributed to shareholders, which will tend to perpetuate to maintain this source of revenue even though high interest rates are, generally speaking, an investment disincentive.

This will particularly apply to small companies, for which lower capital costs and higher interest rates have essential consequences for their survival.

Yet investment is essential to the care of the future, and it will only be undertaken in an atmosphere of confidence.

Operation '82 may have largely failed to consolidate Bonn government finances, but prospects for the future must at least be made to appear credible.

There must be greater political cohesiveness, an improvement in financial conditions and a reduction in the confidence shortfall.

There is no call for drastic measures as there is no such thing as a free lunch. But it is realistic at least to expect a policy of providing for the future.

In other words, what is needed is a policy of providing for the future, a policy of ensuring economic recovery, if leeway can be gained by following a score, political leeway will follow.

F. Wilhelm, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Deutsche Bundesbank.

Dr. Christians, the Minister of Finance, is also a member of the Board of Directors of the Deutsche Bundesbank.

ENERGY

Nuclear power stations: more, more and still more

pression if the industrialised world refused to sell them the latest technology in nuclear power.

So Herr Barthelt said his company, which manufactures power reactors, had no plans to sell developing countries watered-down nuclear technology.

What he expected was that KWU would be designing sturdy plant and equipment that would give Third World operators the least possible trouble.

In central Europe and the United States nuclear power stations with an installed unit capacity of 1,200 megawatts were now the rule.

They were unsuitable for developing countries that lacked the power grid to relay so much electricity to consumers. So KWU was now designing smaller units of between 200 and 400 megawatts.

"We already have more clients interested in this category of nuclear power station than there are countries capable of paying for them," said Herr Barthelt.

Even a small nuclear power station will not cost less than DM1bn, and of the couple of dozen developing countries (out of a total of roughly 130) in a position to benefit from a nuclear power station of this kind, only a handful can afford one.

The KWU board chairman said a major nuclear power station saved so much oil per annum (or made it available for sale to the developing world) that it was an aid factor worth considering.

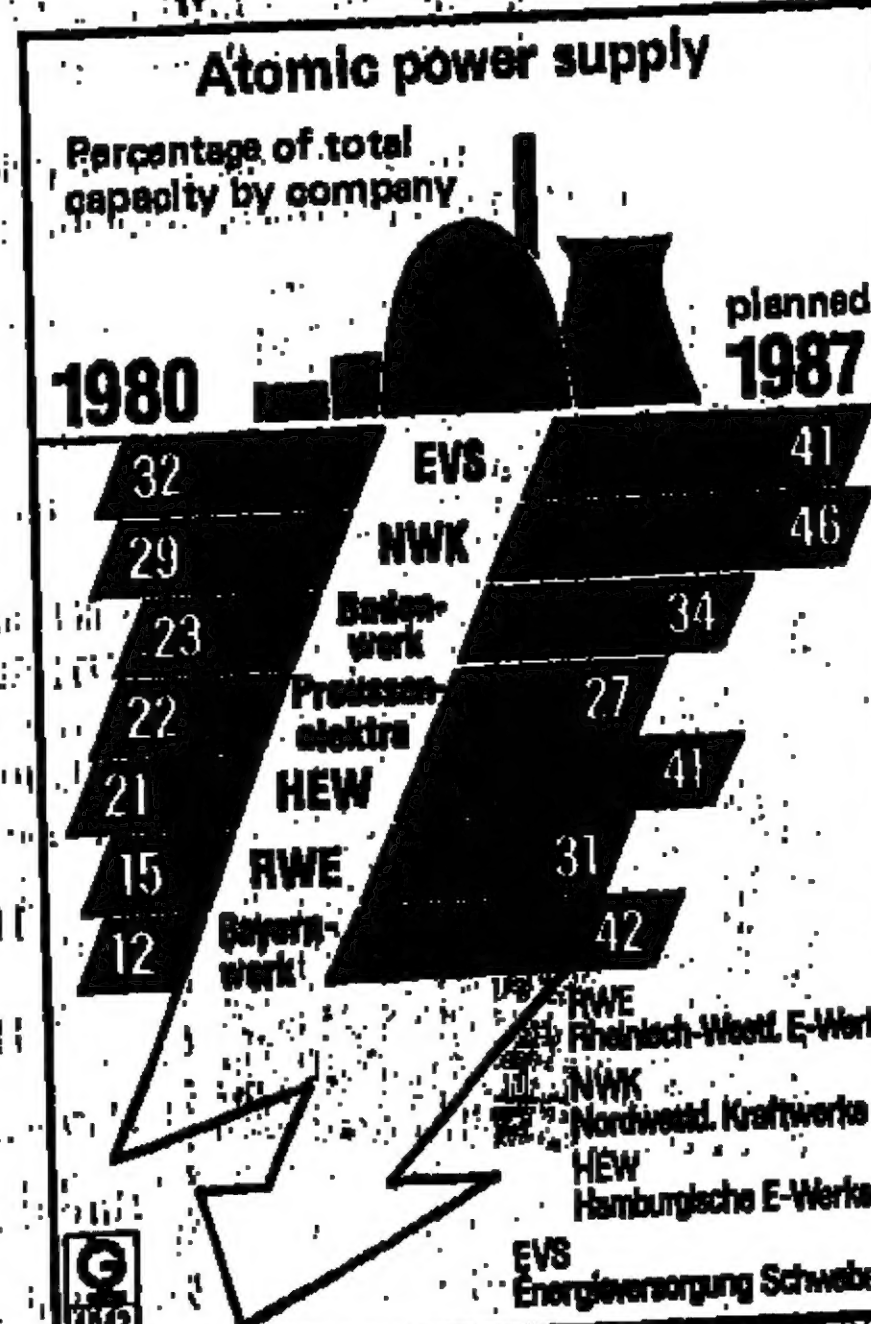
In building and exporting nuclear power stations the Federal Republic of Germany would thus be providing development aid in more ways than one.

Holger Börner, Hesse's busy Premier, was in favour of the idea in principle. "I feel growth is essential," he said, "and it presupposes a secure energy basis."

This security could not be ensured without nuclear power, which did not mean atomic energy alone must be developed, of course.

He was not prepared to say whether he favoured accelerating planning procedures in the latest stage of the Bonn government's energy development programme.

"I am not in favour of going in for anything at full tilt; it does not tend to improve matters," he said. "But I don't hold with going short on safety either."



and certainly not where atomic energy is concerned."

So Herr Börner neatly avoided a clear commitment for or against the wish of Rheinisch-Westfälisches Elektrizitätswerk (RWE) and other major power utilities to build more domestic nuclear power stations.

The utilities would like to build entire units of nuclear power stations, starting with five 1,300-megawatt units.

"The French are already building reactors in runs," said Franz Joseph Spalthoff of the RWE board, "faster and less expensively than we are."

He and the advocates of nuclear power envisage a string of new units the length of the country, from Lingen via Hamm, Biblis, Neckar-Westheim and Isar to Wyl.

Applications have been in the pipeline for six years. They now hope the safety of all these reactors will be checked by a single agency, the Bavarian safety inspectorate, and construction work can get under way by the year after next at the latest.

Argument for fast breeder reactor

Herr Spalthoff envisaged an even more far-reaching step. By the end of the decade, he said, a decision ought to be taken on the construction of a first full-scale German fast breeder reactor.

He was able to cite international forecasts in support of his claim that breeder reactors would prove indispensable. Professor Häfele had said they would be needed from the turn of the century.

It was of more immediate importance to ensure that the fast breeder research project in Kalkar, near the Dutch border, was assured of funds next year.

Yet the power utilities in the south of Germany were under strict instructions from their supervisory boards not to chip in. These instructions were politically motivated, he claimed.

Heinz Kluncker, the trade union leader, was equally categorical and unequivocal in his support for another project beset by difficulties, a plant to reprocess spent nuclear fuel rods.

He was initially only willing to approve a pilot project of the kind Hesse is prepared to house, and Herr Kluncker stressed that a wide base of support, a consensus, must be established in favour of the idea.

Herr Börner clearly had every intention of ensuring there was a consensus before his state administration would give the go-ahead to build a reprocessing plant.

He planned to hold a parliamentary hearing before embarking on planning procedures. This would be similar to the hearing held by Lower Saxon Premier Ernst Albrecht on the Gorleben project in Hanover in 1979.

At the end of the Hanover hearing Herr Albrecht announced that plans for a reprocessing plant in Gorleben were, politically speaking, stone dead.

Dieter Tasch
(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 9 November 1981)

Bonn set on easing atom planning

RHEINISCHE POST

More nuclear power stations must be built to meet the growing demand for energy, the Bonn government has decided in its latest energy programme.

There are industrial policy reasons why atomic energy must make a large contribution towards electric power output, the policy document says.

Nuclear development must be seen in an overall economic context and neither nuclear power's current share of output nor the time it took to get planning permission for nuclear power stations and built them were in keeping with energy or industrial policy considerations.

Bonn is determined to simplify, standardise and speed up planning procedures. The emphasis will be on ruling out further public hearings on changes to existing nuclear power stations or units already in the planning pipeline.

Talks on speeding up procedures have already been completed with the Länder and with the industry. Agreements reached are now to be implemented as soon as possible.

Bonn is also keen to ensure further development of high safety standards in nuclear power station construction and swift implementation of the nuclear waste disposal programme.

Given the uncertainty of world affairs in connection with energy demand forecasts, the government does not intend to go firm on specific figures.

Surveys by the German Economic Research Institute (DIW), Berlin, the energy department of Cologne University and the Rheinisch-Westphalian Economic Research Institute, Essen, are nonetheless felt to be plausible estimates.

They all expect coal, oil and other energy resources each to account for about a third of power supplies by the mid-90s.

Their surveys were all commissioned by the Bonn government but undertaken independently.

Primary energy consumption is expected to increase by only 1 to 1.4 per cent between 1978 and 1995. This forecast is based on the assumption that GNP growth rates will be from 2.2 to 3.4 per cent in real terms.

Oil's share of energy consumption is expected to decline from 52.3 per cent in 1978 (and 47.6 per cent last year) to 34 per cent in 1995.

At the same time atomic energy's share of power output is slated to increase from three per cent in 1978 to 17 per cent in 1995.

This again assumes that at least 17,000 megawatts of extra installed nuclear power station capacity will be built.

If this proves impossible the forecast is that the price of electricity will increase, as will the demand for alternative fuels and difficulties in building alternative power station capacity in time to cater for demand.

Coal's share in meeting energy requirements is expected to increase from 17.8 to 22 per cent, whereas gas will roughly hold its own in percentage terms at 16.

Hans-Henrich Zedler
(Rheinische Post, 8 November 1981)

■ THE ENVIRONMENT

Trying to make the inner city come to life again

Twenty-one European countries are competing in a Council of Europe drive on urban renewal that is to end with a full-scale conference in Berlin early next year.

Five German cities have been entered, including a Karlsruhe suburb, Ettlingen and Burghausen.

Ettlingen, near Karlsruhe, is a medium-sized town where much of the rebuilding has been the work of private enterprise. Burghausen is a historic small town in Upper Bavaria.

All three, the city, the medium-sized town and the small town, have sought in different ways to counteract inner suburb decay and make town life desirable again.

The Karlsruhe suburb is still known as Dörfle, or the village it once was, even though it consists mainly of six- to eight-storey tenement blocks.

There can be no mistaking the mark the bulldozers have made on the area. Nine hundred new apartments have been built and 3,000 people rehoused in the first stage of redevelopment.

Housing on small lots that was in bad shape, with poor plumbing, has been replaced by attractive town apartment blocks, but by and large the new residents are newcomers to the area.

The first overall development plan, drawn up in the 60s, envisaged high-rise blocks reminiscent of the Manhattan skyline, but they never left the drawing-board.

After years of dispute over development proposals and a subsequent planning competition Karlsruhe managed, by the skin of its teeth, to avoid having the entire atmosphere of the city ruined.

In the mid-70s a rethink began. The aim was no longer to raze entire districts to the ground but to refurbish existing property that was in good shape.

Priority was given to maintaining architectural substance, and in the Dörfle district this has been done wherever possible.

Over a 16-hectare (40-acre) area two-thirds have been slum-cleared and the remainder modernised.

New blocks have been built to a uniform height, and green and quiet courtyards make them a pleasure to live in.

The exterior of new buildings has been designed to harmonise with the general appearance of urban architecture in Karlsruhe too.

In nearby Ettlingen, population 36,000, rebuilding the town centre presented fewer problems even though it did not have the DM100m-plus the Federal and state governments have invested in the Karlsruhe project over a 10-year period.

Ettlingen is an example of how, with skilful town planning, private invest-

ment exceeding DM120m can be promoted at little cost to the taxpayer.

The amount so far invested by the municipality has been a mere DM4m, which is roughly what it costs to build a small gym nowadays.

Yet Ettlingen has preserved its mediaeval character without coming to look more like a museum than a living community. It is a confusing pattern of narrow streets that have been pedestrian precincts for centuries.

Very sparing use has been made of concrete, glass and steel. Residents were consulted at an early stage in the planning — and not just the public in general but people directly affected, such as the old-age pensioner, the milkman and so on.

Burgomaster Erwin Vetter says the town has developed a new awareness of itself as an entity that would make short shrift of plans to change the face of Ettlingen by building, say, a department store that did not fit into the pattern.

The town has consistently opposed plans to set up shopping centres on the outskirts: Ettlingen town centre was to remain the focal point of local life.

None of the 1,000 residents of the redeveloped area has been forced to move out — neither by the planners nor by high rents in the new apartments.

Shops, offices and housing have been combined to ensure reasonable rents.

This mixture has been sustained consistently that families even live in the Rathaus, or town hall.

Powers of planning permission were not exercised to ensure that units were in the required design (half-timbered).

Instead, the municipality bought the plots that were earmarked for development, planned the projects and sold them.

In Burghausen, on the border between Bavaria and Austria, the Altstadt, or dialect town centre, looked like this 100 years ago.

Young people and shops moved to the Neustadt, or new town, where there was no shortage of parking lots and cellars and ground floors of the buildings were not flooded every year.

Redeveloping Burghausen proved particularly difficult because the number of buildings listed as historic monuments ruled out ideas that might have cost by means of wholesale demolition.

Besides, an embankment had to be built to end the flooding, and it took the river side of the little old town look even more squat, with first-floor windows at ground level.

To restore the old proportions buildings had an extra storey added on the river side, but it was added in such a way as to ensure that the town side of the buildings looked unchanged.

To upgrade the town centre and 4,000 residents Burghausen decided to make extra municipal grants to its families and shopowners who moved out.

Since 1975 the trend to move out of town has been reversed. In Burghausen, shops and offices in the Altstadt are in brisk demand. Gerd Ruckert (Frankfurter Neue Presse, 10 November 1981)

PHILOSOPHY

Friends of Schopenhauer gather in suffering

Schopenhauer Society, Germany's largest philosophical society, and its 70th anniversary with a

Society, which has been headed by Hübcher for the past 45 years, is not restricted to experts but is open to all friends of Schopenhauer, and members from all parts of the world.

At the same time, the renowned Schopenhauer Archives of Frankfurt's University Library, opened an exhibition and organised a series of lectures.

Director Klaus Dieter Lehmann underscored Schopenhauer's great importance and his timelessness, which, he said, was more evident than ever before.

Schopenhauer's works have been translated into 24 languages, and now he is to be coming at us from the future, he said.

It was the first to break with the optimism in philosophy. It was what he said that "we are condemned to suffering."

Wagner found his ideas about music confirmed by Schopenhauer and adopted the philosopher's "metaphysics of will."

Wagner, Gregor-Dellin told the congress, was happy to be able to admit to himself at last that the world was evil.

Tristan and Isolde seek deliverance in death from the inanity of the world. In his Parsifal, Wagner comes very close to Schopenhauer's ascetic solution.

War is the continuation of politics by other means. There is hardly another imaginable maxim whose practical implications are more far-reaching than this tenet of the military writer Carl von Clausewitz.

For this reason and because of the ever present threat of war, the thesis of the famous Prussian reformer has become the most quoted and discussed axiom among historians, politicians and the military.

The 150th anniversary, on 16 November, of the death of the author of *On War* falls in a time in which war — once the "sport of kings" — is only discussed in terms of ways and means of preventing it due to the mass destruction potential of modern weapons.

In some quarters the anniversary will raise the question as to the lasting significance and timeliness of the German military theoretician.

The objection to the Clausewitz formula in today's world is that a nuclear war can no longer be seen as the continuation of politics by other means.

And it is true that Clausewitz's book on war and warfare does not consider the possibility of eliminating all nations. For him, a war was decided by destroying the enemy's armed forces.

But the objection could be countered with the argument that the Clausewitz formula is timely because, after the orgies of violence in two world wars, politics must naturally be given priority in the sense meant by Clausewitz; and war must remain politics "lest it become pointless and devoid of meaning," as he himself put it.

The enormous growth of the destructive potential has given rise to a spirit of moderation because today the threat takes the place of action, and the deterrent that of decision.

But this, in turn, could be countered with the question: if the threat serves no other purpose than to prevent its im-

plementation, does that not amount to the paradoxical question as to whether it is possible to live for ever on credit?

Many an interpreter of Clausewitz, for whom military considerations were subordinate to political reason, will naturally say: What should we pin our hopes on if not on reason?

It indeed appears to be the paradox of our era that the very possibility of mass destruction — even without an explicit threat — curtails the actual use of violence.

In retrospect, it can certainly be said that events of the past 150 years would have been less dominated by purely military considerations if politicians

characterised the world as a "mutual erotic deception."

The life of Man's impostor, Felix Krull, rests on lies and deception — but then, life would be insufferable without illusions.

It is here that Thomas Mann's art comes into its own. Thomas Buddenbrook is a typical "hero of weakness" along Schopenhauer lines and a prime example of Thomas Mann's "pessimistic humanism."

Musicians were perhaps even more influenced by Schopenhauer. In fact, no other philosopher is as revered by them.

Music is more direct than language in conveying the "will" and true conditions in the world.

Martin Gregor-Dellin, Munich, drew attention to Schopenhauer's maxim that "music is the melody and the world the text."

Wagner found his ideas about music confirmed by Schopenhauer and adopted the philosopher's "metaphysics of will."

Wagner, Gregor-Dellin told the congress, was happy to be able to admit to himself at last that the world was evil.

Tristan and Isolde seek deliverance in death from the inanity of the world. In his Parsifal, Wagner comes very close to Schopenhauer's ascetic solution.

Objection to the Clausewitz formula



Carl von Clausewitz... often quoted

But the objection could be countered with the argument that the Clausewitz formula is timely because, after the orgies of violence in two world wars, politics must naturally be given priority in the sense meant by Clausewitz; and war must remain politics "lest it become pointless and devoid of meaning," as he himself put it.

The enormous growth of the destructive potential has given rise to a spirit of moderation because today the threat takes the place of action, and the deterrent that of decision.

But this, in turn, could be countered with the question: if the threat serves no other purpose than to prevent its im-

plementation, does that not amount to the paradoxical question as to whether it is possible to live for ever on credit?

Many an interpreter of Clausewitz, for whom military considerations were subordinate to political reason, will naturally say: What should we pin our hopes on if not on reason?

It indeed appears to be the paradox of our era that the very possibility of mass destruction — even without an explicit threat — curtails the actual use of violence.

In retrospect, it can certainly be said that events of the past 150 years would have been less dominated by purely military considerations if politicians



Schopenhauer... set a vogue (Photos: Historia)

at the congress: businessmen, doctors and lawyers who loved their philosopher because he was so close to life and lucid.

At the end of the congress, the Society's president, Arthur Hübscher, who is now almost 85, presented "his legacy": The Schopenhauer Society is to continue as a "free circle of friends" based in Frankfurt and generously supported by the city.

To study and disseminate Schopenhauer's philosophy, he said, can play a part in bringing more humanity to an inhuman world.

Wolfgang Schirmacher (Rheinische Post, 6 November 1981)

literary considerations if politicians in general had abided by the Clausewitz formula.

A German general, Ewald Heinrich von Kleist-Schmenzin, said after the Second World War that the Clausewitz axiom to the effect that political factors are more important than military ones was too little heeded by the Germans in particular.

"The Germans made the mistake of thinking that political problems can be solved by military success. Under the Nazis, we were about to reverse the Clausewitz formula and view peace as a continuation of war."

Curiously, it is the military in particular who differ widely in their interpretations of Clausewitz's works. But this might be due to the fact that *On War* is ambiguous in some places.

Even 100 years after his death, the Clausewitz assessment of the difficulties in conquering Russia proved correct.

He said that Russia was not a country that could be conquered in "formal terms" and that it could only be defeated through internal strife.

Napoleon foundered in 1812 because, according to Clausewitz, "the enemy government remained firm and the people loyal."

Hitler did not even attempt to make use of the rudiments of internal disunity that had been caused by Stalinist repression.

Clausewitz's most important function in this century was that of the man who played a major role in shaping the Marxist-Leninist theory of war.

This is highlighted by the notes Lenin made on reading *On War*. They show that he studied this classic only in the light of his foremost objective: the proletarian world revolution.

Rudolf Grimm/dpa (Mannheimer Morgen, 12 November 1981)

Glorious weather for 8.50 DM

It is too much to expect, but we can promise you that with the aid of our climate handbooks you will be able to travel when the weather suits you best.

Business and private travel overseas calls for careful preparation. The weather varies so widely that you may be in for an unpleasant surprise.

ORIENT

These climate handbooks are compiled by experienced meteorologists and list monthly statistics for major cities: temperature, rainfall, rainy days, humidity and mention of special features such as fog, thunderstorms, whirlwinds and so on.

U.S.A./KANADA

Reference sections round off the data, making the climatological handbooks comprehensive guides every traveller will need. They include 66 charts and about 11,000 figures on 80 to 80 pages.

AUSTRALIEN

Climatological handbooks are available for U.S.A./Canada, Australia, the Middle East, Latin America, East Asia and Africa.

Fill in and send to: INTERPRESS Overseas-Verlag GmbH, Schöne Aussicht 23, 2000 Hamburg 76, Tel. (040) 22 85 226. Please send me your climatological handbook to the: ☐ AUSTRALIA ☐ U.S.A./CANADA ☐ MIDDLE EAST ☐ EAST ASIA ☐ LATIN AMERICA ☐ AFRICA

Name _____ Street _____ Town _____

The holiday of a lifetime for 7.50 DM

It is too much to expect, but that is all our illustrated guides in glorious colour cover. Forty pages each, and fifty impressive colour photos. Let them be your guide to the world's most interesting and beautiful cities.

metropolis

NAIROBI in Bild-in pictures

Handy hints — on excursions, food, shopping and the weather — will save you time and money.

These unique colour guides are multilingual (German, English, Spanish).

CARACAS Venezuela

Fill in and send to: INTERPRESS Overseas-Verlag GmbH, Schöne Aussicht 23, 2000 Hamburg 76, Tel. (040) 22 85 226. Please send me: ☐ NAIROBI ☐ RIO DE JANEIRO ☐ LIMA ☐ CARACAS

Name _____ Street _____ Town _____

